

# The American Observer

*A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. -- James Monroe*

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## Program for M-Day Examined by Nation

**In Event of War, Rigid Controls Over All Economic Life Are Planned**

### PRESIDENT'S POWER GREAT

**Entire Nation Would Be Compelled to Bend Energies Toward Prosecution of War Effort**

During recent weeks, THE AMERICAN OBSERVER has received a large number of requests for an article dealing with the program which would be put into effect if the United States should go to war. We are accordingly devoting an article this week to the subject of M-Day, or Mobilization Day, the day without date when the United States declares war against a foreign power. It is not our intention to convey the impression that this country is on the brink of war or that it is contemplating war. Despite the cataclysmic trend of events during the last few months, the American people appear overwhelmingly opposed to participation in the war. Most people agree, however, that in the light of recent world events, war cannot be ruled out as a distinct possibility. It is our purpose in the following article merely to give the main outlines of the mobilization program that would go into effect if the United States should become involved in war.

If ever the United States must make the momentous decision of going to war against some foreign power—and actually does take up arms—the most sweeping changes in the nation's history will take place almost overnight. For more than 20 years, plans have been formulated for that day without date when the United States would go to war. Vaguely people have heard of M-Day, or Mobilization Day, when the country crosses the threshold from peace into war.

### A Comprehensive Program

The plans which will go into effect in the event of war have been worked out by the War Department. They are the result of America's experience during the World War. When the United States declared war on Germany in 1917, the country was ill prepared. Plans had to be quickly devised and put into operation. There was naturally considerable waste and inefficiency. Had the American troops which went overseas not been able to use weapons and materials supplied by the Allies, they would have been seriously handicapped, for the United States was not prepared to furnish the necessary equipment.

It was to prevent a recurrence of the mistakes of the World War that a sweeping plan for mobilization was worked out after the last war. There are already a number of statutes which enable the president to take drastic action immediately upon the declaration of war. Under the National Defense Act, the Naval Emergency Fund Act, the Federal Power Act, the president enjoys vast powers in time of war. The War Emergency Act, approved by the Navy and War Departments and by administration leaders, is ready for swift enactment. The effect of all these laws would be to bestow virtual dictatorial powers upon the president for the duration of the war.

The mobilization plans which would go

(Concluded on page 8)



THE WATCH IN THE NIGHT

BRITISH PRESS COMBINE

## A Call to Youth

BY WALTER E. MYER

It has become the fashion in some quarters to speak of duty as something out of date. Young people are supposed to express themselves, to seek self-development, to find ease, comfort, happiness. Now all this is well enough if viewed in the proper perspective. It is quite right that each one should try to find the way to a more abundant life. But to ignore the claims of duty is to renounce all that is great and noble and truly civilized. It is to forsake the path which alone has led to progress and general well-being. If one forgets his obligations to others, the finest sentiments which ever inspire the acts of man will atrophy through disuse, and the individual will lose those characteristics which have ever distinguished the truly great. Not only will the individual suffer but there will be national decline. The public good might be forgotten in the good old easy days without bringing national calamity. But in these days of danger and crisis, a public-spirited citizenship is essential to national security.

There is reason enough why one should undertake to comprehend the problems of the public life in the interest of his own enlightenment. One needs a broad understanding of today's great issues in order that he may serve his own interests. But any competent person should be ashamed to stop at that, for the obligation rests upon every intelligent individual to make a contribution to the common good. There are plenty of men and women of ability and training who are working against the common good in order to serve their own selfish ends. Men in positions of power and influence are doing that. Mighty corporations are fattening at the expense of the poor. Not all the strong are oppressing the weak, but many are. That is one reason why there is so much hunger, so many heartaches, so many tears in this great land of ours. Anyone who, possessing a good mind, feels no impulse to use it to remedy the wrongs which cry to heaven and to lift the burdens which rest so heavily upon many of his fellow citizens, must be woefully lacking in moral vigor.

There is a call today for leadership which seeks to serve the common good. The young men and women who aspire to leadership should prepare to work for the public interests as effectively as the antisocial work for their selfish ends. Let the enemies of America and of the great body of Americans; the greedy interests, the criminals, the grafters and irresponsible leaders of every sort, be thwarted by an ability as great as theirs and a zeal as strong. Let the young citizens who are strong in mind bring to the public life ability and courage and enthusiasm more powerful than can be mustered by those who misuse power. Such gifts for leadership are not possessed by all. Many there are who are lacking in competence, in courage, or in character. But the qualified youth of today must decide whether to go the way of the civic slacker or to travel the road of patriotism and public service.

## British Prepare To Carry on War Alone

**Look to Sea Power and Empire to Counterbalance Military Strength of Axis**

### ODDS IN GERMANY'S FAVOR

**Nazi Blockade and Continuous Bombing of Britain Already Taking Toll of British Economy**

Now that France has surrendered, virtually every nation on the continent of Europe west of Russia has fallen or is falling into the lap of the Axis powers. From their island stronghold, the British have seen their friends, allies, and potential allies engulfed one by one. Poland, Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium, and now France have been overrun; the Balkans are cowed; Sweden is cut off from the world; Spain and Portugal are uneasy and aloof. Today, instead of leading a three-power coalition against the German state with the tacit approval of a large part of the rest of Europe, as was the case last September, Britain stands alone in opposition to the armed might of Germany and Italy, who now dominate the entire continent.

### Battle of Britain

What some people now call the Battle of Britain has already begun. It started on the night of June 18-19, when German planes first began to raid British cities on the mainland in earnest, and the British began to retaliate in Germany. What form it may take in the future, and what its outcome will be, all the world is waiting to see, for in reality it is a battle for all Europe. If Germany wins, she will be supreme on the continent. No power or coalition of powers will be strong enough to dislodge her from that position for years to come.

In the June 3 issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER we discussed at some length the strategic considerations involved in a possible German invasion of the British Isles. The advantages and dangers to Germany of such an attack are much the same now as then, with one exception: with France crushed, there is no longer any danger of an attack from the rear, while the German army embarks for Britain with the objective of striking deep into the industrial areas in the Midlands, around London, or up from Southampton.

But an outright invasion of England is only one of three or four possibilities open to the German high command. It is mentioned more often than the others, possibly because it seems more dramatic, and also because Germans themselves have been threatening it. It is also possible, however, that Hitler may simply attempt to blockade the British Isles and starve the English out, while his aircraft methodically blast away at British factories and communications. He may concentrate on a tremendous aerial blitzkrieg, aimed at blowing industrial Britain into oblivion and bringing the war to a quick finish. He may be able to persuade the British to accept a negotiated peace, or split England from inside by a fifth-column uprising.

It cannot be denied that England is in a dangerous position. Whichever way an Englishman looks toward Europe, today, he sees a solid line of German strength, occupying the entire coast line from the Arctic ports of Norway, down through the North Sea and along the Atlantic coast of France to Spain. German air bases are

(Concluded on page 3)

## "Strategy of Terror" Outlines Nazi Technique of Psychological Warfare

WHEN the history of the present war is finally written, as much attention is likely to be paid to its psychological aspects as to its military and diplomatic sides. Up to the present time the psychological war has been as important in determining the outcome of the struggle as the military operations.

The psychological offensive which Germany has been waging against her enemies is the subject of one of the most valuable books to appear in recent months. It is "The Strategy of Terror" by Edmond Taylor (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, \$2.50). Mr. Taylor was head of the Paris bureau of the *Chicago Tribune* from 1933 until last December and was thus in an excellent position to examine this type of warfare. He watched the diplomatic game as it undermined the structure of postwar Europe. He saw the battle lines forming in this fantastic war of the mind, and his book is an attempt to give details of the technique used in this struggle which has variously been called the "war of nerves," "war of propaganda," and "psychological war."

The entire Nazi campaign has been based upon waging this type of warfare. Hitler himself is reported as having outlined the objectives of psychological warfare as follows: "Our real wars will be waged before the military operation. We will not use our massed armies as in 1914. Artillery preparation for attack in trench warfare will be replaced in the future by

break the enemy's will-to-win or simply his will-to-resist as in war. In the modern doctrine of war, even the French one, this was coming to be recognized as the real goal of military operations; economic and military attack was considered merely as a means to this end."

In the war of nerves, the Nazi propaganda machine has resorted to various devices. One of the most effective of these weapons is dissolvent propaganda which is intended to undermine morale and destroy social cohesion. "This propaganda might be purely defeatist—the French army is no good, Germany is invincible, etc.—or it might be terrorist. Hitler has achieved much of his success by what he calls 'the spiritual use of violence.' By this he does not mean showing your force to economize the use of it, . . . but using real force symbolically, spectacularly to create an irrational fear. Violence, in the Hitlerian theory, is displayed excessively, gratuitously, but not too frequently; the threat always remains a little shadowy and therefore all the more terrible. A dark hint is frequently more terrifying than an open threat, and German propaganda agents, the French learned, were carefully schooled in the fine art of dropping dark hints."

Nazi propaganda has resorted to other methods to weaken other nations. It has played up anti-Semitism outside of Germany, "not so much to do in the Jews but simply to get the Gentiles fighting among themselves over the Jewish question." It has also used natural political differences to strengthen the Nazi position.

"The basis of Hitler's psychological strategy," Mr. Taylor writes, "lay in creating and timing a war scare; making the threat of war as vivid, spectacular, real, and unbearable to the people of France, England, and Poland as it could be made. To make the war scare psychologically effective it was necessary both to sustain suspense over a long period and to punctuate this suspense, this permanent anxiety, with alarms and shocks, interspersed with lights of hope. Hitler's own war experience, or his intuitions, or his psychological advisers, had taught him that these were the psychological conditions which unnerve a man in the face of danger, break down his will to confront it. Propaganda, showmanship, and diplomacy built up the suspense, created the alarms, and delivered the shocks."

When war actually broke out in September, much of the damage had been done and the war was already half won. "Despairing of peace, partially anesthetized by the war of nerves, the people of Europe went to war not so much as sheep go to the slaughterhouse, but as men commit suicide in a dream. Their souls fell apart, and the part which marched off assenting was estranged from the part which refused, so that everything seemed unreal and like a dream."

The strategy of terror, the psychological offensive, was continued even after the outbreak of hostilities on the military front. During the months of lull on the western front, Nazi propaganda was used further to divide the French soldiers and civilians. The attempt was made to divide the French from their British allies by telling them that they were being used to fight England's battles. The whole peace offensive became a weapon in the psychological struggle. Soldiers lost confidence in their officers, and the social cohesion essential to victory was destroyed.

The same strategy is now being employed against England—threats of utter annihilation in the impending Battle of Britain, alternated by offers of peace—all calculated to undermine the morale of the British people and to produce the disunity which makes military victory relatively easy. At the same time, the propaganda technique is designed to have its effect upon the United States and upon American foreign policy. Fortunately, Mr. Taylor has forewarned us of the dangers by giving us the blueprint of the Nazi strategy of terror.



EDMOND TAYLOR

the psychological decomposition of the enemy through propaganda before the armies can go into action."

One needs only to go over the history of the Nazi victories in order to see how effectively this weapon of warfare has been used. The assault on the psychological front has been used to divide the peoples of the neighboring countries, to bring about the "psychological decomposition" of which Hitler speaks. Secret Nazi manuals, stolen by French spies, Mr. Taylor tells us, reveal "that the real aim of psychological warfare as understood by the Nazis was not to convert outsiders to their cause as commercial propagandists do, but to demoralize the enemy, to destroy the cohesion, discipline, and collective morale of hostile social groups. In other words, to

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THE EUROPEAN FIRE-EATER  
MONTREAL STAR

## What the Magazines Say

IN the July issue of *Survey Graphic*, Victor Weybright discusses the tragic European refugee problem and the need for American aid to the unfortunate victims. These people are faced with widespread famine and disease.

Mr. Weybright believes that the United States must play a dominant role in bringing relief to suffering Europe. We must assist through such organizations as the American Red Cross, the American Friends Service Committee, the Commission for Polish Relief, and the United Jewish Appeal. Unfortunately, these relief agencies have not been well organized. Lack of

which cannot be governed by provincial governments. Great Britain has also conducted a propaganda campaign among the Hindus and Moslems, asserting that the Moslems are opposed to the Indian National Congress and do not want independence for India from British imperialism. India has suffered greatly as a result of the war. The cost of living has gone up. Great Britain does not permit her to share in the trade benefits of war. Prominent Indians, such as Jaiprakash Narayan, are imprisoned without fair trial. India, says the writer, fears that British imperialism is going to become fully entrenched in the country.



coordination has resulted in a duplication of appeals with certain organizations working without considering the plans of the others. All of this must be remedied. But the important thing is there—the spontaneous response of the American people to help.

The American Red Cross drive must reach well over the \$20,000,000 quota, says Mr. Weybright, and this help must not slacken. For there are still Spanish and Polish refugees to take care of as well as millions of new ones. The Paderewski Fund for Polish Relief is striving to raise funds to feed several million people in the Government General of Poland where 13,000,000 people are now crowded into an area formerly occupied by 11,000,000. In Poland, crops have been destroyed, and industry has slowed down. The population of bomb-torn Warsaw has increased by 500,000 people from the country, seeking food and shelter.

The American Red Cross has sent over food, clothing, drugs, surgical dressings, and ambulances. Congress has appropriated \$50,000,000 for overseas relief. It is up to Americans, says Mr. Weybright, to see that this aid does not stop.

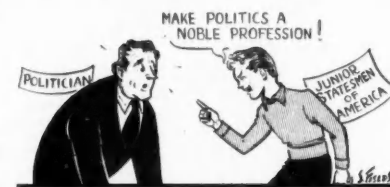
India has made clear her hatred of "imperialist war" and her opposition to Nazism and Fascism, says Bhicoo Batlivala in the July issue of *Asia*. She believes that now is the time for Great Britain to grant India her independence, thereby gaining the support of 400,000,000 people. But since the outbreak of the war in Europe, India has been made to feel that British imperialism was going to flourish. India was declared a belligerent without her consent. Various acts have been passed, such as the harsh Defense of India Ordinance Act, curtailing what little democracy India had received in 1937.

From the beginning of the war, continues Miss Batlivala, England has been gaining a greater stranglehold over India and her resources. The largest steel works in eastern India and the oil fields at Digboi have been added to the "protected areas"

A new youth crusade dedicated to the cause of good government has grown up in the country during the past five years. Frederick R. Bechdolt discloses some interesting facts about this organization in the July issue of *Current History*. E. A. Rogers, president of the Montezuma Mountain School for Boys in California, is largely responsible for the birth of the movement. Mr. Rogers has always believed that training for citizenship is an extremely important part of education, and he has instilled this idea into each new pupil. Student government and mutual responsibility for the common good have been stressed at his school.

The writer tells how the students of this school decided to organize a Junior Government after a discussion of American politics during the fall of 1934. Delegates from seven schools met for "A Conference of Youth on American Ideals." They adapted the idea of a Junior State and National Government with the slogan, "Make Politics a Noble Profession." They induced high schools to offer training in statesmanship as part of the regular course of study. Gradually, the organization spread throughout California and Washington. In 1935, the first convention was held in San Francisco.

These high school student governments, says Mr. Bechdolt, organize themselves along governmental lines. Members func-



tion as councilmen or members of a legislature. They investigate problems in their community and pass bills. In Oakland, California, the Junior City Government of Castlemont High School discovered a need for a recreational center in one of the city's poorer districts. The students passed an ordinance to bring this about and then brought their bill to the attention of the city officials who made the ordinance a fact. Today's president, young Dick Trudeau, a native of Washington state, is now out to organize Idaho and Minnesota and to add new members to the present 8,000.



## British Prepare To Fight Alone

(Concluded from page 1)

now so close to the British mainland that Nazis are no longer forced to rely on high-flying heavy bombers, which are vulnerable to fighter craft sent up to meet them. From bases in France, Belgium, and Holland, German dive-bombers (short-range craft) are now able to raid southern England, and heavy bombers can fly over with escorts of short-range fighter craft, thus reducing the risk involved to German pilots and machines. Britain has lost France as a friend, and must face the possibility of finding her someday in the ranks of the enemy.

### British Weakened

To make things worse, Britain must face this grave threat in a weakened state. Although nine shattered divisions of her army were rescued after the battle in Flanders, the equipment of this expeditionary force was not. An enormous amount of munitions, machine guns, tanks, trucks, and a thousand pieces of artillery were left behind in France, representing not only loss for England, but gain for Germany. It will take many months to replace this equipment, and in the meantime the British must face the fact that they are short on nearly every conceivable type of land



THE SHADOW  
MARCUS IN N. Y. TIMES

and air armaments and munitions except rifles and hand grenades.

England is short in other things, too. With only 47,000,000 people, as compared to 44,000,000 in Italy, and 80,000,000 Germans, she is short on man power. There are about 1,760,000 men under arms in Britain today, but a million of these are local defense volunteers. When all Poles, Canadians, Australians, and New Zealanders are counted in with such contingents of the French army as have gathered in Britain, it is found that Britain's regular army at home does not exceed 700,000 men. Outnumbered two to one in the air, and possibly three to one, Britain is short on planes. By late summer a shortage of trained pilots may pinch the Royal Air Force also. Cut off by Germany from the markets of Denmark, from which she formerly obtained roughly a third of her bacon, butter, and eggs, Britain is likewise pinched for food. Forty per cent of the high-grade iron ore formerly used in British steel manufacture came from Sweden, via Narvik, Norway. It is no longer obtainable. Finally, British productive capacity, while very high when measured on a per capita basis, is only a third or a half that of Germany. As Hanson Baldwin has pointed out in the *New York Times*, British factories can produce no more than 1,500 or 2,000 planes per month, while Germany can produce from 2,500 to 3,000. And in the air it is the ability to replace that counts.

In spite of these disadvantages the British people seem confident that they cannot be beaten. While admitting that they were mistaken in underestimating Germany's power previously, they see no reason for turning around to the other extreme now. Their army may be small, but it is well trained, and the British have always proved themselves to be good

fighters, particularly when on the defensive. Their air force is smaller than Germany's, but plane for plane and man for man, it is probably the best in the world, except in bombers, where Germany has an undisputed edge.

### Traditional Defense

But on more than anything else the British rely upon their traditional defense, the water between them and the continent, and sea power to control it. So long as the British navy can sever the communications of any German force landing in England, so long as it can keep the Atlantic sea lanes clear to bring in goods from the United States, and troops and supplies from the dominions, the British feel they can survive. When it seemed as though the French fleet might be added to that of Germany and Italy and brought into the fight against England, a few weeks ago, it appeared that British sea power might soon meet its match. But since then the British have seized or sunk or badly damaged about a half of the French fleet, including some of its newest and heaviest units. Another quarter is believed to be in French ports, while the remaining quarter of France's fleet is unaccounted for at the time of writing. Pending the ultimate disposition of the rest, the naval balance between the Axis and Britain is clouded with uncertainty.

The British believe that the most critical period will come within the next few months, before their army can be completely reorganized and their production can reach its peak. They believe that if Hitler is to win at all, he must do so this summer. The British believe they have enough food stocks now on hand to tide them over until the harvest, which promises to be the largest in 22 years, and will provide sufficient yield to carry the British Isles through the winter. With the late fall and winter will come the squalls, mists, and fogs which will make German operations against Britain difficult. By spring the Churchill government will have been able to recoup what are now admitted to be the tragic blunders of the Chamberlain government in failing to step up aircraft and munitions production, to organize industrial production of the dominions, and to begin training more than a tiny fraction of the 25,000 pilots who were supposed to have been gathered in Canada some time ago. By spring, England hopes, there will be enough aircraft, tanks, and artillery on hand to hold Germany while other forces are at work.

### Other Forces

What are these other forces? Apparently the British now contemplate a revision of their blockade to create a far-flung double blockade consisting of an outer ring, based upon British North American bases and circling around into the Indian Ocean, at a safe distance, while small craft and the air force attack any ships which may have slipped through the outer ring when they approach the continent of Europe. This plan envisages the blockade of an entire continent by the people living on a small island off its coast. England cannot do it alone, but



SILENT GUARDIANS OF THE NORTH SEA

with the aid of her vast empire it may be possible.

In planning for a new type of blockade warfare, Britain must consider not only Germany, as formerly, but the entire European continent—now virtually dominated by Germany. Not only the needs of Germany, but the needs of Europe must be considered. The British have been impressed with German efficiency in integrating industry and agriculture in conquered areas with her own economy. But, as Albert Viton, author of "Great Britain: An Empire in Transition," stated in a recent issue of the *Nation*,

### Overseas Trade

Almost half of the foreign trade of European countries between 1925 and 1938 was carried on with nations outside the European continent; and the percentages have shown remarkable stability. In 1937, 47.2 per cent of Europe's imports came from beyond the seas, and almost 36 per cent of all exports was sent outside the continent. It is impossible to see how this vast trade—amounting to about \$12,000,000,000—could be absorbed by Europe. Grain, sugar, coffee, tea, cocoa, and other foods have to be imported . . . as well as almost all of the three million tons of cotton consumed annually . . .

For rubber, tin, nickel, wool, hides, medical supplies, chromite, manganese, tungsten, molybdenum, vanadium, and other essentials no less important, Europe is wholly or largely dependent upon markets beyond the seas. If the British blockade in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans could be held effectively for a considerable length of time, Germany might be unable to continue the war, despite her efficiency in organization.

The plan sounds well, but it will not be so easy to put into operation. For one thing, Britain must be able to hold off Germany for another half year at least before she can do so. Will that be possible? In some quarters it is now stated that Britain does not stand much chance of doing so unless considerable material aid is given by the United States. Will it be given? For another thing, such a

blockade would create dreadful privations among the innocent peoples of Europe. From Hitler's past record it may be assumed that so long as there is enough food for the German army, and for the workers necessary to maintain it with supplies, the German army will eat, regardless of what happens elsewhere. The people who would suffer, the Poles, Czechs, Norwegians, Dutch, Belgians, French, and other non-Germans, would not necessarily be the enemies of Britain. With a famine already in prospect this winter, such a blockade might well stir up a united European hatred of Britain that would endure for centuries, and would be exploited for all it was worth by Hitler.

Then, it must be remembered that Britain herself is now partially blockaded, and she is very vulnerable to blockade. The east and south coasts, (containing the Thames Estuary, which normally carries 60 per cent of Britain's commerce) is no longer safe for commerce on a large scale. With the ports of Southampton, Plymouth, and Portsmouth within easy range of German dive bombers based on France, with Bristol and Cardiff occasionally bombed, only Liverpool and Glasgow remain relatively safe for the hundreds of ships which must enter and clear British ports every day to feed that tight little industrial island's mouths and factories.

Most of the German bombs dropped on England so far have been a part of the blockade operations. Explosives have generally been directed at docks, wharves, waterfront storage sheds, railway terminals near big ports, ships, shipyards, and so on. While thus cutting down Britain's vital export-import trade, German bombers are methodically searching out key factories, airports, hangars, and generally lowering the rate of British industrial production by keeping the air-raid sirens wailing, and the workers in air-raid shelters. In this they have apparently been more effective than have British bombers in Germany, although many German oil refineries and wells have been put out of order.

To sum up—the best the British can hope for now is a stalemate peace. Anything more will depend upon powers outside Europe. If Russia, fearing Hitler, decides eventually to back Britain, if the United States begins to send unlimited aid, if India and the dominions come forward with the vast quantities of men and materials of which they are capable—then some sort of victory might be achieved. From the British point of view, however, there are too many "ifs" for comfort, but England still takes consolation from the old saying, "Britain loses every battle but the last one."

## Answer Keys

### Do You Keep Up With the News?

1. Entente Cordiale; 2. (a); 3. Germany; 4. Monroe. Europe; 5. true. Harold E. Stassen; 6. Pierre Laval; 7. Sen. Alben Barkley. William Bankhead; 8. (d); 9. 1821. (b); 10. Rumania; 11. Vichy; 12. true.



KEEPING TABS ON LONDON'S DEFENSES

"Somewhere in London" technicians sit night and day and keep in touch with the strategic points in the city's defenses.





THE PRESIDENT REVEALS HIS SECRET ABOUT THE THIRD TERM TO FARLEY

## DOMESTIC

### In Chicago

Chicago is gaily decorated with flags, bunting, and welcome signs for the Democratic National Convention this week. Mayor Kelly is an old hand at entertaining large political gatherings, having helped the city to prepare for both the Republican and the Democratic conventions eight years ago. Whatever their personal political beliefs, Chicago merchants, hotel men, and restaurant proprietors have been looking forward to this week for a long time—it will bring thousands of dollars to their cash registers.

As delegates from every state headed for Chicago, they hardly knew what to expect beyond the fact that Speaker William Bankhead (see page 6) would deliver the keynote address to open the convention, and that Senator Alben Barkley would wield the gavel as permanent chairman. Quite reasonably, too, they anticipated that they would approve a platform which will praise eight years of Democratic administration over the nation's affairs.

But although a vast majority of them are committed to vote for President Roosevelt's nomination—more than enough to insure a decision on the first ballot—they were in the dark about the President's plans to accept or reject the nomination. Only Postmaster General James A. Farley, who conferred with the President before leaving for Chicago, knew the secret of Roosevelt's intentions.

But while the drama of selecting the Democratic presidential and vice-presidential candidates is unfolding this week in Chicago, the delegates will not let this suspense and uncertainty spoil their opportunity to stage rousing demonstrations for their party's record, and otherwise participate in the traditional activities of a political convention.

### Monroe Doctrine

Every president since James Monroe has interpreted or redefined the doctrine which Monroe himself laid down in a message to Congress on December 2, 1823. In recent months and weeks, of course, interpretations of the ancient principle of American foreign policy have been made more frequently.

The Senate, it will be recalled, some weeks ago unanimously passed a resolution declaring that the United States will refuse to recognize any transfer of control over territory in the Western Hemisphere from one non-American power to another. And nearly a month ago, Secretary of State Hull bluntly warned the European dictators to keep out of the Caribbean lands, taking much the same position as the Senate.

The Nazi government replied that it had given the United States no reason to assume that Germany intended to take any such steps. Moreover, the reply continued, if the United States wants to follow such a policy in the Western Hemisphere, it should not meddle in Europe. This gave rise to talk of a "Monroe Doctrine" administered in Europe by Germany, and of a similar policy

being adopted by Japan for the Asiatic region.

Consequently, Secretary Hull drew a sharp distinction between our policies and theirs. Their plans, he said, "instead of resting on the sole principles of self-defense and of respect for existing sovereignties, as does the Monroe Doctrine," would probably turn out to be merely the excuses for them to carry out military, political, and economic domination of the other countries within their reach.

The next day, White House Secretary Stephen Early relayed President Roosevelt's interpretation of the doctrine to a press conference. In substance, it was suggested that such a doctrine should exist for Europe, for Asia, and for the Western Hemisphere. In

IS THIS POLICY STILL IN EFFECT?  
ELDERMAN IN WASHINGTON POST

those areas, the nations should act together to settle disputes. Mr. Early continued. Under this plan, he pointed out, the dispute over the future of French Indo-China should be settled by the Asiatic nations themselves. Similarly, the nations of this hemisphere should act together in settling any territorial problems in North and South America.

As this view was examined, it was pointed out that there could hardly be much question about how European nations, acting together under the domination of Germany, would

# The Week at H

## What the People of the World

settle the problems of that continent, or about which nation would benefit if Japan took advantage of the method in Asia. Moreover, the original Monroe Doctrine has always been a policy of the United States itself, not a collective pact among the western nations. To correct the quickly spreading conclusions, Early talked to the correspondents the next day, telling them that more emphasis should be put on the same arguments which Secretary Hull had leveled at Germany.

### A Just Peace

Totalitarian governments do not permit the existence of the conditions which President Roosevelt believes must prevail if the world is to have a just and enduring peace. Recently he outlined five essential freedoms which the establishment of world peace requires:

1. Freedom of information and knowledge, and of the press.
2. Freedom of religion.
3. Freedom of expression.
4. Freedom from fear of attack and from threats to territorial possessions. To achieve this, world disarmament would be necessary.
5. Freedom from want. Nations must strive to improve the living standards of their citizens, and must cooperate in the greatest possible cultural and commercial relations throughout the world.

In discussing these points, the President said that every citizen should keep in mind the elements which go into universal peace. As he talked to newspaper correspondents, the President was seated at a new mahogany desk in the study of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library. Under construction for more than a year, the recently completed building was formally given to the United States government.

It stands on a 16-acre plot of the Roosevelt estate at Hyde Park. About 25,000 individuals contributed to the fund of \$250,000 for the building's construction. It will house about 6,000,000 items—books, state papers, documents, prints, ship models, and mementos which the President has collected during his political career since he entered the New York state Senate in 1910.

### For Defense

Nearly \$70,000,000 will be spent during the next 12 months by the National Youth Administration on projects for young people who are out of school. Only young men and women between the ages of 18 and 24 will be employed on the projects, which are designed to provide useful services or improvements for the communities in which they are located. Since the jobs are intended to give work experience, the NYA officials are trying to develop projects which will offer as many opportunities for mechanical training as possible.

The WPA is also starting a work-training program to prepare men and women for employment in industries which are handling national defense orders. Moreover, by fall the

WPA expects to have about 600,000 of its workers—nearly one-third of the WPA force—busy on national defense projects. The WPA has already built a large number of airports, many thousands of miles of roads and highways, armories, and temporary barracks for army posts. WPA officials have more projects of this nature in mind.

Meanwhile, it is reported that the administration is preparing plans for the expansion of the NYA and the CCC. According to early estimates, about \$200,000,000 may be provided to boost the CCC enrollment from the present corps of 200,000 to around 360,000. Another \$200,000,000 might be added to permit the NYA to add 300,000 young people to its rolls. If the plan materializes, the two agencies will use the extra funds to provide training for mechanical skills, for bridge construction, for road building, for machine tooling, and for tractor operation and repair.

### 1942 Cars

Automobile showrooms will display 1941 models this fall, but there is still some doubt whether the manufacturers will make any changes in their cars for 1942. Some weeks ago, it was widely believed that in order to assist the national defense program, the manufacturers would simply continue to turn out 1941 models for an extra season or two. This would relieve the plants of having to make widespread changes in tooling equipment, and thus make it possible for them to handle more national defense orders.

However, the work of designing the 1942 models went ahead as usual—the companies must operate several years in advance in their planning divisions. And it now appears that the introduction of 1942 models depends on how smoothly the national defense program moves. If the automobile companies can absorb their share of armament orders easily and steadily, they may be able to gear their plants for this business and for regular changes in car models, too. If, on the other hand, there is a sudden rush of government orders, the pressure might strain the machine tool industry. If such is the case, the automobile companies will probably abandon plans for making 1942 models, and release their machine tools for national defense production.

### NLRB's Record

It was five years ago this month that the National Labor Relations Board came into existence. For the NLRB, they have been stormy years, marked by Supreme Court tests over the constitutionality of the National Labor Relations Act, by hotly contested labor elections, and by a congressional investigation of the board. The board has had to defend itself against charges that it favors the CIO over the AFL, and that it foments labor strife at the expense of employers.

The NLRB's record shows that it has handled over 28,000 cases in the past five years, and that 6,140,000 workers were involved. Eleven cases out of every 12 were settled by peaceful agreements—the employer



THE FORD MOTOR COMPANY FROM THE AIR

COURTESY FORD MOTOR COMPANY



# Time and Abroad

## Doing, Saying, and Thinking

and the employees reached a satisfactory solution among themselves, the complaint was withdrawn, or the NLRB dismissed the case. In the one case out of 12 which demanded further attention, sometimes the NLRB found that there had been no violation of the act, and sometimes it was necessary for the NLRB to step in and order a change in company practices which were found to be against the law.

Most of the cases—about 18,800—involved charges by workers that their employers were unfair to labor, that companies discriminated against workers for union activity, interfering with the organization of a union, or attempting to dominate a union. If the charge proved to be true, the NLRB ordered the employer to cease the practice. In 9,300 cases, the NLRB was asked to determine what union rightfully represented the workers in various companies. Many times it was necessary to hold an election among the workers to determine whether they favored the AFL or the CIO as their bargaining agent, whether they preferred a local union of their own organization, or whether, as is sometimes the case, they did not want a union at all.

plan envisages a huge all-American pool to purchase Latin-American exports and dispose of them abroad, thus ensuring stable prices and markets for all. Another would make air bases available to all republics in a reciprocal fashion. American planes, for example, might use Brazilian bases, if need be, and vice versa. A score of lesser topics will be discussed.

Actually, the Havana conference will provide another test of Pan-American solidarity. Early indications give little cause for optimism. Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, and Chile, all four of whom have large German populations, have already shown signs of reluctance, and will not send their best men to Havana.

### Mexican Election

Although it sometimes takes months before the final results of many Mexican elections are tabulated, it now appears that the victor in the recent presidential election will be General Manuel Avila Camacho, the Popular Front candidate who was sponsored by the present incumbent, Lazaro Cardenas, and the Mexican trade unions. As we go to press,



GENERAL VIEW OF VICHY, NEW SEAT OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT

to 11 P. M., making possible a faint-hearted revival of some of the city's night life. A few cafes have reopened, and two or three theaters. The blackout continues, and the air-raid alarms are kept in order by the Germans, but the only planes which might raid Paris now are British, and they are not expected. Civilians are kept away from huge military prisons on the outskirts of the city. In Paris itself the only ominous signs are the lengthening lines in front of food shops.

public, born out of one French defeat, has been ended in another.

### Russia and the Straits

One of the most consistent policies of old Imperial Russia was directed toward acquisition of control of the narrow straits leading from the Black Sea into the Mediterranean. For centuries these straits have been controlled by Turkey, sometimes with German, and sometimes with British support. At various times previous to the World War, Russia was strong enough to wrest Istanbul (Constantinople) from Turkey, and thus command the straits. But other European powers, with England in the lead, prevented her from doing so, for control of the straits would bring Russia into the Mediterranean, and few countries in Europe desired that. After Russia's defeat and the Russian revolutions, the matter of Istanbul was permitted to lag, and relations between Turkey and the Soviet Union greatly improved.

Since the outbreak of the new European war, however, Moscow has displayed a new interest in Turkey and the straits. Previous to the Finnish war, when Russia was strengthening her position along the Baltic, Turkish officials were called to Moscow, and presented with Russian demands for concessions, the exact nature of which has never been made entirely public. The Turks refused, and the matter was allowed to ride once more, probably because Russia was occupied in the north, or because she did not feel strong enough.

Now, however, a new series of Russian demands on Turkey are reported to have been made, and one of these—the most important—requests Soviet control of Istanbul. The defeat of France has rendered any support to Turkey from the French army in Syria (just south of Turkey) impossible, leaving to the Turks the unpleasant alternative of yielding, or of trying to fight alone. Some people believe that Russian occupation of Istanbul would sow the seeds of conflict between Germany and Russia eventually, but there are a number of Balkan observers who are convinced that Hitler has already agreed to it, in order to keep the Soviets out of the rest of the Balkan peninsula.



THE BALKAN AREA

N. Y. TIMES

## FOREIGN

### Havana Conference

At the Pan-American conference in Panama, last October, representatives of the 21 American republics agreed to convene for a special conference if there should be any change in the status of European possessions in the Western Hemisphere which might endanger the security of North and South America. At the time the possibility of any change seemed remote. Of the three foreign powers holding territory on this side of the Atlantic, Holland was at peace, and Britain and France seemed strong and secure.

But today the question is a burning issue. With Germany occupying France and Holland, the future status of French Guiana, Martinique, and Guadeloupe, and of the Dutch possessions, Surinam, Aruba, and Curacao, is the object of study in nearly all American capitals. An immediate problem is that of possible French-British clashes in Martinique, as have occurred in North Africa.

In accordance with the Declaration of Panama, another Pan-American conference has been called to meet in Havana, on July 20. This conference will be asked to consider not only the problem of French and Dutch holdings, but several others. One

Camacho is leading his chief rival by a large margin.

General Camacho has been labeled a "red" by his opponents because he has promised to uphold Cardenas' program of land and labor reform. His opponent, General Juan Andreu Almazan, has been called a reactionary and a fascist because he has drawn his support from the landowners, the upper middle class, and the Mexican branch of the Spanish fascists, the Falange. There is probably a little truth and a little exaggeration in both charges.

### Swastika Over Paris

Paris, under the German occupation, is slowly returning to normal. Only about a third of the 2,800,000 regular citizens of the French capital have returned to their homes, but those who have are striving to take up their lives where they left off a few weeks ago. Americans who have been in the city since the Germans came report that the Parisians generally wear the expressions of a people too badly defeated to show resentment or any signs of resistance. German soldiers come and go as they please, but are generally well behaved and courteous, conducting themselves more as curious tourists than a conquering army. Parisians individually seldom come into direct contact with German rule. Army orders relating to civilian life are given by German officers, but enforced by French officials and French gendarmes.

Recently the city's curfew law was extended

### Two Burials

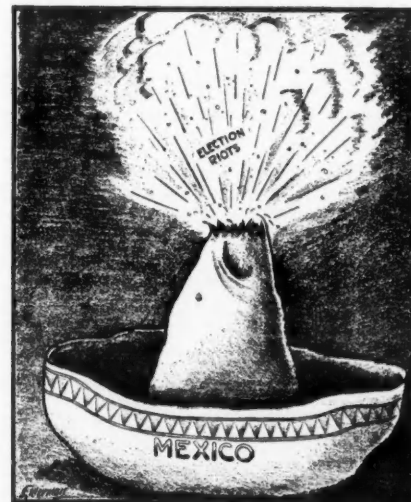
#### (1) Entente Cordiale

As a result of Britain's seizure or destruction of French naval craft to prevent their falling into German hands, the government of France has broken off relations with Great Britain, and in so doing has ended the famous *Entente Cordiale*—the friendly association which has bound Britain and France together for 36 years. Established in 1904 by Edward VII. of England, and M. Delcassé, of France, the *Entente* blossomed into a virtual alliance in 1911, brought England into the World War on the side of France, in 1914, and again, in 1939, lined the two western powers up against Germany. Several times the *Entente Cordiale* passed through severe periods of strain, as in the early twenties, but as late as last fall it seemed to be stronger than ever. Only the utter defeat of France succeeded in cracking it, and today it no longer exists.

#### (2) Third Republic

Another change of great importance to Europe has come with the death of the Third Republic, which was born in France just after the Franco-Prussian War, in 1870-71. At Vichy, the new temporary French capital, the French parliament met for the first time since the war ended, last week, and quietly voted to end democracy in France. By that single vote, the French parliament has ended its long career as a legislative body, and now serves as a mere advisory board, without powers, and without prestige. The lower house, the Chamber of Deputies, is organized on the Italian model, while the Senate is appointed by the government. The real powers in France are in the hands of a triumvirate, consisting of General Maxime Weygand, commander of the French armies, the former premier and extreme conservative, Pierre Laval, and Adrien Marquet, also a conservative, and a former labor leader. It is expected that the aged Marshal Pétain will replace Albert Lebrun in the largely honorary office of president.

Why was parliament so willing to vote itself and democracy out of existence? The full story of what has been happening in France may not be known for years, but the influence and wishes of Hitler probably had a great deal to do with it, in addition to the fact that the men now in power in France have never been too favorably disposed toward democracy. Just before the voting, M. Laval made a significant statement: "I bring you not the conviction, but the certainty that you must give Marshal Pétain what he wants, if you expect an honorable peace," he told parliament. "If you want to retain our free institutions, these reforms must be accepted." And so the Third Re-



SOUTH OF THE BORDER

ELDERMAN IN WASHINGTON POST





NAPOLEON ON A BRITISH SHIP AFTER HIS SURRENDER AT WATERLOO  
(Painting by Orchardson)

## Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

### Napoleon's Struggle Against England

THE problems confronting Hitler as he seeks to bring England to her knees and establish himself as master of Europe are not unlike those which Napoleon had to meet in his struggle for European domination. Nor was England's position less precarious then than it is at present. Like Hitler, Napoleon had, by military victory and alliance, made himself dominant over all continental Europe. Those nations which had not been incorporated into the French Empire were under the "protection" of Napoleon and dared do only as he ordered. The only possible foe who could injure him in the east was Russia and the Little Corporal had warded off that danger not only by making peace with Czar Alexander but actually by forming an alliance with him.



DAVID S. MUZZEY

When Napoleon reached the zenith of his power, following the "deal" with Russia, he stood in a position of dominance of the entire continent—a position not unlike that occupied by Hitler today. The only remaining obstacle in the path of complete domination was England—that island fortress which is again fighting for its life. Before the Russian peace, Napoleon had hoped to deal a death blow to England by invading the country. He expected to find a downtrodden people who would welcome him as a liberator. For two years, he had an army of 210,000 men assembled along the North Sea and the Channel coast, but he was never able even to attempt the invasion of England.

#### The Continental System

The main reason for Napoleon's failure to attempt to invade England was that the Corsican was never able to mass his entire naval strength for the great thrust. The English, superior in naval strength, vigilantly watched the naval units under Napoleon's control and never once permitted them to gather for the attempted invasion. When Nelson destroyed the combined fleets of France and Spain, in the victory of Trafalgar, the possibility of invading England completely disappeared.

Realizing that he could not directly attack England, Napoleon sought to bring her to her knees by other methods. He developed what has come to be known as the continental system—a system of commercial and economic warfare designed to destroy the British. What he attempted to do was to exclude from all European ports the goods and ships of Britain. He knew that England depended upon commerce for her prosperity and that if all

her continental trade were cut off, he had a good chance of bringing her to ruin. He fired the opening gun in this commercial war by issuing his famous Berlin Decree of November 1806 by which he ordered the seizure of all British goods in his own or allied territory and excluded all British ships from their ports.

Napoleon figured that the goods which England had been supplying to continental Europe could be imported from such neutral overseas countries as the United States. But the continental system proved to be a two-edged sword, for the British replied to the Berlin Decree with their own Order in Council. Under penalty of seizure, the British forbade any neutral ship from entering a port from which British ships were excluded, without first visiting a British port and taking on British goods. It may be remembered, in passing, that it was this ruthless economic warfare and interference with neutral rights that brought the United States to the very brink of war with Napoleon and finally plunged them into war with England (the War of 1812).

#### Decline of Napoleon

Although Napoleon was in a position to close all the ports of continental Europe to British ships, his policy did not have the desired result of crushing the British. Rather, it was one of the main causes of his own downfall. The continental system brought serious industrial dislocations throughout Europe. It brought economic paralysis to the entire continent and discontent to every town and village.

In this phase, the Napoleon Wars were a great economic struggle. For a while, all nations on the continent acted as an economic unit in fighting the British. Had Napoleon succeeded in enforcing his continental system he might have forced the British to surrender. But it was impossible to keep all Europe hermetically sealed. The Corsican was obliged to take drastic measures against Portugal and to seize the throne of Spain. In the insurrection which followed, the British were able to land troops and gain a foothold on the continent. In 1811, Russia broke with Napoleon and the cue was given for a general revolt against the tyranny.

In the present struggle between England and Hitler, the same general situation prevails as during the Napoleonic Wars. It is again England against the entire continent, for those nations which are not actually at war with the British must follow the dictates of Hitler in order to preserve themselves. If Hitler should fail in his attempt to invade and conquer England, he may seek to wreak such destruction from the air as to force England to capitulate. Or he may use some weapon designed to ruin her economically.

## Personalities in the News

BEFORE the delegates to the Democratic National Convention settle down to adopting a platform and nominating candidates this week in Chicago, they will listen to the keynote address of **William B. Bankhead**, speaker of the House of Representatives. His speech will be the rousing one usually expected of a keynoter, because the veteran legislator from Alabama has a long record as a good orator. He possesses a wide vocabulary, a resonant voice, and a flair for dramatic timing. No one doubts his ability to evoke loud and frequent cheers from the assembled party members.

The very qualifications which make him a good keynoter once led him, as a young man, to consider embarking on a stage career. He carried out his intentions by traveling to Boston, where he got a small role in a play. But his mother managed to persuade him to abandon his theatrical ambitions, and he returned home. In recent years, he has taken pride in the dramatic accomplishments of his daughter Tallulah, the well-known stage and screen actress.

In Alabama, the name Bankhead has long been associated with politics. Today, Speaker William Bankhead presides over the House while his brother John represents Alabama in the Senate. Before them, their father represented the state in both the House and the Senate. Altogether, the total congressional service of the father and the two sons runs to nearly 70 years—the longest record for one family in the nation's history.

Of this total, Speaker Bankhead's share is 23 years. He has wielded the gavel in the House of Representatives since June 1936, when he was elected to succeed the late Joseph Byrns of Tennessee as speaker. Part of his success in the position is due to his mastery of parliamentary rules, which his father counseled him to learn as he packed up to leave Jasper, Alabama, for Washington, D. C.

When Congress is not in session, Bankhead returns to Jasper, where he has an office on the second floor of the post office building. Until politics became the family profession, the Bankheads ranked among the leading planters of the state—their landholdings had been in the family since pre-Civil War years. Even today their interest in agriculture is strong, and the speaker's name is attached to a major farming act which was passed by Congress. A few years ago, he bought a dairy farm, explaining, "All congressmen get kicked out eventually—I want to land in a soft pasture."

The speaker's favorite recreation is to fish in the streams of Alabama and of the country near the nation's capital. Now 66 years old, he avoids more strenuous exercise. However, he was fullback on the University of Alabama's first football team years ago. His other alma mater is Georgetown University, where he got the law degree which enabled him to practice and later to fill various legal posts in Alabama before he started on his legislative career.



WILLIAM B. BANKHEAD

HAVING guided France through the weeks of agony and humiliation which have followed her crushing defeat at German hands, one of France's oldest and most venerable statesmen is said to be slated for the presidency. He is **Marshal Henri Philippe Petain**, who saw the Third Republic born, as a youth, who preserved it by holding the Verdun sector in 1916, and who headed its government in the final hours of defeat.

It was in a similar hour of humiliation, just after the Franco-Prussian War, that Petain entered the war college at St. Cyr, and began his military career. Graduating in 1878, at the age of 22, he entered the Alpine Chasseurs as a lieutenant, and climbed gradually through the ranks for 34 years, differing from his fellow officers on the surface only in his distaste for publicity and politics. The outbreak of the World War found him a brigadier-general who made a good front-line officer—cool, sparing of waste, and respected by his men.

Toward the end of 1915, France was filled with rumors. Verdun, the great eastern fortress, was said to be much weaker than the army command would admit. The rumors ran through trenches, fashionable salons, government corridors, and into parliament. When the Germans cracked the outer Verdun defenses, the French were on the verge of panic. The high command was denounced as being lax and inefficient. Shuffling generals around like a pack of cards, the French government dispatched Petain to Verdun, hoping against hope for results. Quietly and coolly, Petain inspected the Verdun forts, talked with the men, ordered what repairs he could, and drew up a plan of action. "They shall not pass," he said gravely. They never did. In the terrific four-month battle that followed, the French lines yielded, but snapped back again. They never broke, and when it was over, Petain was a hero.

After the war, Petain retired to his farm near the French Riviera, depressed, and troubled by the ghosts of the Verdun dead, "haunted," as General Pershing said, "by the consciousness of the havoc wrought by this gigantic struggle." But this was only the first of many retirements. He was called back in 1925 to suppress a Riff uprising in Morocco, and again in 1934 to become war secretary in the cabinet. A year ago the French government persuaded him to accept the post of ambassador to Spain, in the hope that he might exercise some influence over his former pupil, Generalissimo Franco. Finally, he was recently called upon to undertake one of the most unhappy tasks ever confronting a French statesman—the negotiation of the surrender to Germany. Petain has been bitterly criticized by some for his alleged desertion of the English. But at the age of 84 he seems undisturbed by such attacks. He is now happiest when moving slowly through the rose gardens on his farm in the south of France, armed with a sprinkling can.



MARSHAL HENRI PETAIN



## World Leadership in Commercial Flying Taken by American Planes

WHILE the development of military aviation commands most of our attention these days, American commercial air lines are quietly growing, and are steadily adding new flights to their far-flung operations. Only a few weeks ago, the first regular passenger service between the United States and Alaska was inaugurated by Pan American Airways. Where four days of travel were formerly required, a person can now leave continental United States and within seven hours be in our northernmost territory. The distance between Juneau and New York City is now 24 hours instead of seven days.

And this month, transoceanic clippers begin a regular schedule of flights between San Francisco and Auckland, New Zealand, where the flying traveler can connect with planes which will take him still further—to Australia. The California-New Zealand journey is an 8,000-mile hop by way of Honolulu, Canton Island, and New Caledonia. The air-line time is four and one-half days; the trip by steamer takes 17 days.

With the inauguration of this latest service, the United States is now linked by air with every continent in the world except Africa. Clippers leave California regularly for points in Asia—Manila, Hong Kong, Chungking, and other Far Eastern terminals. To the east of us lies Europe, where Lisbon is the destination of two and three round-trip flights from New York each week.

Southward, American air lines have forged a ring of schedules around the

ican air lines already have behind them.

It may take them an even longer time to build commercial planes which can compare in speed, safety, and capacity with American airships. Before the war, European nations concentrated on the design and construction of military planes. For transport planes, they either purchased ships from American factories or manufactured planes under licenses granted by American companies. Consequently, this nation easily held its leadership in the production of commercial planes. This advantage, too, has increased since the war, because the European nations have had no time for building planes which are not intended for military service.

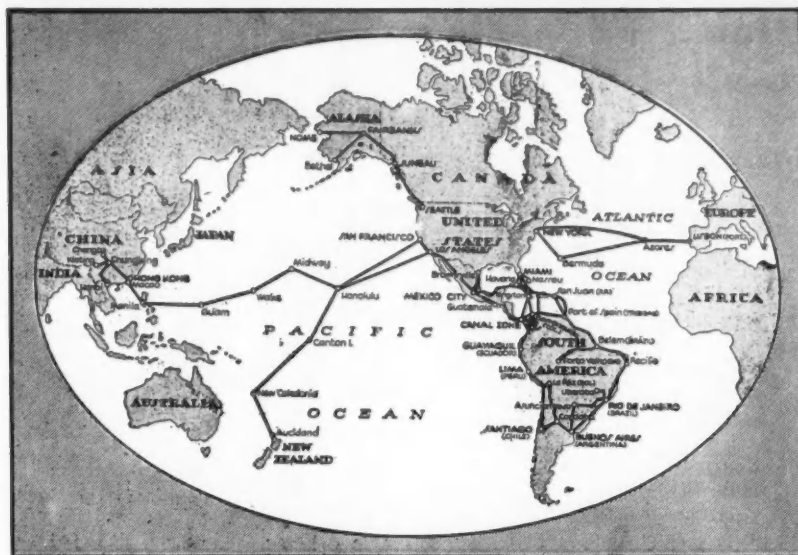
The new strato-clipper is the latest triumph of American aeronautical engineers. In speed and design, it easily excels anything that Europe has yet produced for transport service. The strato-clipper, designed to fly in the stratosphere, at altitudes above 20,000 feet, will have equipment to heat and condition the rarefied air of that height for the comfort of the passengers.

In the stratosphere, weather conditions are uniformly good—the various layers of clouds lie far below the extremely high altitudes. It is believed, therefore, that the strato-clippers will be hampered much less by bad weather than the present transport planes are. The first strato-clipper goes into operation this month on the route between Miami and Barranquilla, Colombia. Other strato-clippers will be put into service, it is expected, as quickly as they can be manufactured.

Proof of the strato-clipper's speed was established on two recent flights between New York City and Los Angeles, with one stop each time at Kansas City. The eastbound plane made the trip in 12 hours and 13 minutes, a commercial air line record for the distance. The fastest transcontinental time by a commercial plane before this flight was 15 hours and 42 minutes.

At the same time, another strato-clipper smashed the westbound record, making the flight in 14 hours and 19 minutes. The former record on the westbound route was 17 hours and 33 minutes. The two strato-clippers were making inaugural runs on the Transcontinental and Western Air schedule.

It is extremely important, of course, that the United States at present enjoys a virtual monopoly of the world's overseas air routes, and that we are developing the world's best planes for this business. For we rank well below other nations in ocean shipping. And although the airplane can never carry the heavy freight which travels in the holds of ships, or bid for the business of passengers who want inexpensive transportation, it is essential for the speedy travel of passengers who can afford it and for the shipment of lighter cargoes. As the airplane becomes an increasingly important messenger in world commerce, the United States can know that we are not being outdistanced by the efforts of other nations, as we have been for so many years in shipping.



COMMERCIAL AIR LINES OF THE UNITED STATES N. Y. TIMES

## - Straight Thinking -

### Scientists or Straight Thinkers

THERE is an organization of scientists known as the American Association of Scientific Workers. The announced purpose of the organization is "To bring scientific workers together to promote understanding of the relationship between science and social problems." "It was formed," says the *Boston Evening Transcript*, "at a time when scientists all over the country were enthusiastically answering the call to play a more prominent part in the social life of their communities. It was argued then that men of science could view political and economic problems as dispassionately and clearly as they viewed laboratory problems. It was thought they would exert a steadying influence at a time when less intelligent men were succumbing to hysteria."

A few days ago a quarrel arose in the ranks of this scientific organization, or rather in the branch of it which includes members from Harvard University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Tufts College. The trouble developed over an antiwar resolution. The resolution which was adopted by a majority declares, "Scientists know that democracy and freedom of thought . . . are endangered in the turmoil which accompanies war. The continuance of progress now largely depends upon the scientists of neutral nations. American scientists can best fulfill their share of this responsibility if the United States remains at peace." This is the resolution which broke up the harmony of the scientists. A dozen members handed in their resignations as a result of the action of the majority, and they charged that the association was controlled by "sympathizers of communism" and men who held "un-American ideas."

These were the scientists who intended to serve as examples to the rest of the country—examples of tolerance and fair and scientific thinking! When they entered upon the discussion of an interna-

tional problem concerning which their emotions were aroused, they acted exactly as men without scientific training would have acted. Had they merely resigned rather than give their tacit approval to a resolution in which they did not believe, they would have been on good ground; but when one hurls the label "communism" or "un-American" at persons, simply because they oppose America's getting into the war, they are engaged in crooked or dishonest thinking. They are acting, not like scientists, but like uneducated partisans. Perhaps the United States should go to war and perhaps it should not. That is an open and arguable question, but anyone capable of competent thinking knows that opposition to American entrance into the war is not an indication either that one is a communist or that he is "un-American." Conversely, the fact that one thinks that America should go into the war does not mean that he is a "war monger" or a victim of propaganda or hysteria.

Too much reliance is placed upon general academic training or mathematical training as an insurance against loose thinking in the social, economic, or political realm. If a man is a trained scientist or a mathematician he is likely to think coolly and deliberately and competently in the field of science and mathematics. If, however, he enters another field, like that of economics, or sociology, or international relations, he is likely to be as unprepared as if he had not had the scientific training in other fields. If training in thinking is to be effective, it needs to be specific. One who is to think reliably and dependably and honestly and effectively in the field of international relations needs experience in studying international problems and in weighing evidence relative to them. We cannot depend too much on "transfer of training." People should be trained to handle the kind of problems with which they, as citizens, must deal.

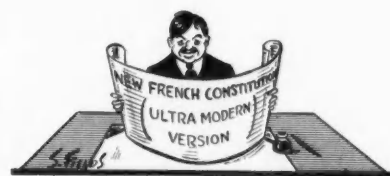
## - Do You Keep Up With the News? -

(For answers to the following questions, turn to page 3, column 4)

1. The agreement of 1904 between the British and French governments, known as the \_\_\_\_\_, which began a period of close cooperation between the two countries, may be said to be a dead letter since France broke off diplomatic relations with Great Britain.
2. Today, Great Britain has about (a) 2,000,000; (b) 3,000,000; (c) 1,000,000; (d) 6,000,000 men under arms.
3. Secretary of State Cordell Hull told what country that the United States would not permit any transfer of Western Hemisphere colonies from one non-American power to another?
4. That nation replied that the \_\_\_\_\_ Doctrine was valid only if the United States did not meddle with the affairs of \_\_\_\_\_.
5. True or false: "Wendell Willkie, the 1940 Republican nominee for president, appointed a 12-member campaign advisory committee,

headed by Minnesota's governor, \_\_\_\_\_."

6. What former premier appointed by Marshal Pétain helped to draw up a new



constitution giving France "an ultra-modern version of democracy?"

7. Who is the permanent chairman of the Democratic National Convention meeting this week in Chicago? Name the keynote speaker and temporary chairman.

8. The president of Argentina, succeeding Roberto Ortiz, who was obliged to retire because of ill health, is former vice-president, (a) Manuel Prado; (b) Pedro Aguirre Cerda; (c) Eduardo Santos; (d) Ramon S. Castillo.

9. When was Mexican independence definitely established? The population of the country today is about (a) 12,000,000; (b) 20,000,000; (c) 40,000,000; (d) 15,000,000.

10. Foreign Minister Constantine Argetolanu of \_\_\_\_\_ said recently: "In its present state and orientation, the government has decided to renounce the British and French guarantee of April 15, 1939."

11. The Pétain government has moved from Bordeaux to \_\_\_\_\_.

12. True or false: "The President has placed a virtual embargo on the sale to foreign nations of munitions, materials, or machinery needed for the national defense program."



PAN-AMERICAN AIRWAYS CLIPPER AND STRATO-CLIPPER

continent of South America, with a web of connecting routes to interior stations and to airdromes in Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean. Each week, Miami is the scene of 38 arriving and departing airships on Latin-American schedules. The Florida base has become so important in the operation of Western Hemisphere air lines that it has grown to be the largest marine air terminal in the world.

Not only have new links been added to our system of air lines, but existing schedules have increased and prospered. War in Europe only served to strengthen the trans-Atlantic service, which carries passengers who find it speedier and safer than ship travel in mine-infested waters. In the freight compartments of these planes, tons of mail are carried between the two continents.

Moreover, the war has also left the field of intercontinental air travel largely to American companies for development. Foreign competitors have been forced to discontinue their experimental flights across the Atlantic, and the plans of the Dutch, English, French, German, and Italian lines have been shelved until after the war. Meanwhile, American planes are steadily tightening their hold on the overseas routes.

It is probable, of course, that the return of peace will bring a renewal of foreign competition for American companies. Foreign governments will strive to catch up with us by heavily subsidizing their lines. But foreign countries will be some time in gaining the experience which the Amer-



## Plans for M-Day Studied by U. S.

(Continued from page 7)

into effect provide not only for the building of a powerful army and navy and air force, but they also call for the general mobilization of industry and every branch of our economic life. Every man, woman, and child in the country would be directly affected. The entire national energy would be directed toward the war effort. Let us see, therefore, what are some of the changes that will take place if war comes to the United States.

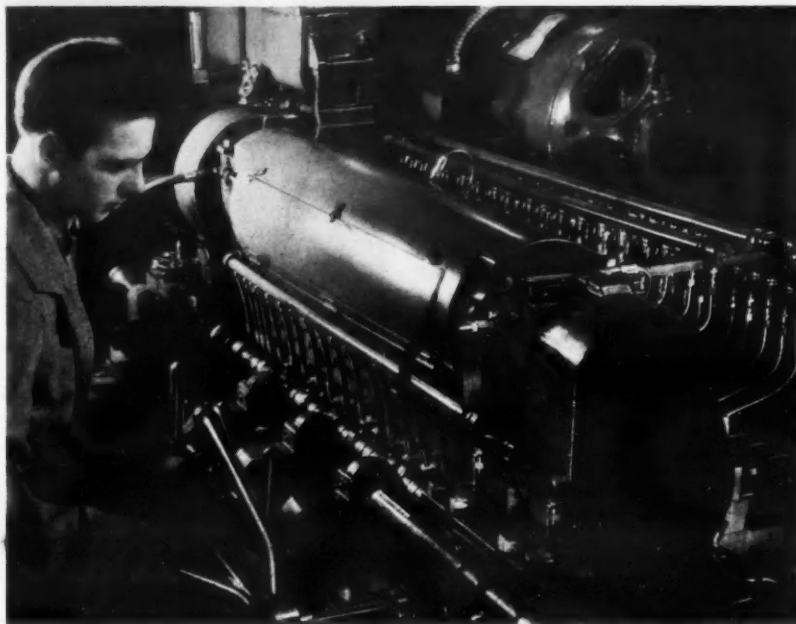
Immediately upon the outbreak of war, the president orders a military censorship upon all war news, all foreign mail, and all communications. Under the National Defense Act, he assumes control over all telephone, telegraph, and radio services. All private shipping is taken over by the federal government, acting through the United States Maritime Commission. The railroads, air lines, buses, and trucks are placed under governmental control, although their actual ownership and operation is left in the hands of private individuals.

The plans for M-Day call for the establishment of a number of governmental agencies to direct the war effort. Perhaps the most important of these is the War Resources Administration, which will have charge of carrying out the main provisions of the general industrial mobilization program. There will be agencies to deal with labor, with prices, with trade, and with public relations. All these will be cogs in the great war machine.

### The Selective Draft

In all the states, members of the National Guard are ordered to report for duty. Until the machinery for the draft can be set in motion, recruiting stations will be busy making enlistments, as each community will start drives for various branches of the service. Under the selective service draft all men between the ages of 18 and 45 are subject to military service. The first group to be called will be those between the ages of 21 and 30, inclusive.

Local draft boards will be set up in 6,000 communities. Every male coming within the age groups of the draft will be required to register and fill out an extensive questionnaire. Upon the basis of the information thus obtained the local board will make decisions as to who is to be inducted immediately into the service



IN TIME OF WAR, ALL INDUSTRY WILL BE MOBILIZED

and who is to be deferred or exempted. Those who register will be placed in four classifications. Class I will include those who are ready for immediate service. Class II will include those deferred from immediate service because they are engaged in some vital industry or necessary occupation, where they cannot easily be replaced by men not included in the draft or by women. Class III will consist of those with dependents, and Class IV will include aliens, the physically unfit, and government officials deferred by law.

In deciding whether a man shall be drafted into the service, the important consideration will be the type of work in which he is engaged. If he is employed in an industry which is regarded as essential to the prosecution of the war or to vital civilian needs, and if he cannot be replaced by an older worker, a minor, or a woman, he is likely to be deferred. At the top of essential industries are the so-called Big Three—munitions, steel, and shipbuilding. Next in importance are the metal trades, railroads, paint, chemical, and electric power plants, telephone and telegraph companies, rubber and oil refineries, automobile and farm implement factories. Next on the list are those engaged in the textile and building trades, agriculture and forestry, mining and transportation.

Those who have the least chance of escaping the draft are workers engaged in various services and professions which are not regarded as essential to the war effort. Here would come waiters, barbers, elevator operators, doormen, clerks, salesmen, unskilled laborers, writers, artists, doctors, dentists, college students. Relatively few of those engaged in buying and selling will be granted exemptions from the draft.

It is probable that men between the ages of 31 and 45 will be required to find employment in some essential industry or to join the armed forces. In order to assist such men find work for which they are suited, the government will maintain employment services. Such a requirement will apply to all, rich and poor alike.

### Mobilization of Industry

So much for the mobilization of man power. This is only one part of the general mobilization program that is to go into effect. If war is declared, all industry will be placed under the rigid control of the government. Some 10,000 individual industrial plants have already been allocated for wartime production. The capacity of these factories for turning out specific products will have already been measured before the outbreak of war, and the managers will be obliged to start filling government orders immediately. Fireworks plants will be set to making airplane flares and signal rockets. Trailer companies will be ordered to manufacture carriages for anti-aircraft guns. Woolen mills will drop their civilian orders and turn out blankets for the army. Auto-

mobile plants may be ordered to turn out a certain number of trucks a month or to manufacture airplane engines or airplanes. Thousands of different items will have to be produced for military purposes.

But the smooth functioning of the program calls for more than the giving of orders. Changes in the price of essential raw materials, in wage rates, in living costs may seriously endanger the whole program of production. Industrial mobilization calls for the perfect coordination of all the countless elements that go into production. Prices of materials will be controlled by the government. Prices of foodstuffs and clothing are expected to be frozen so as to prevent an increase in the cost of living. It is almost certain that steps will be taken to prevent disruption by strikes. At the same time, the wages and salaries of the workers are expected to be protected against cuts by employers.

### Coordination Essential

In order to prevent shortages of materials, priority orders will be issued by the government. Railroads and trucks will be obliged to haul those materials which have been given priority. Thus the automobile manufacturer who has been ordered to turn out a given number of trucks a month will be sure of receiving the required amount of steel, cotton, coal, and other materials essential to his production. He will be certain of having sufficient electric power to keep his plant in operation. To insure him with an adequate labor supply, men outside the draft age and women capable of performing the operations will be taken on as apprentices to replace those who have been temporarily deferred from the draft.

The essential feature of this part of the mobilization program will be to direct the materials and labor into the channels where they are most needed for war purposes. The war industries will be given first consideration in obtaining materials, labor, transportation facilities, electric power, fuel, capital, and construction materials. If there is a shortage of any of these goods and services, industries engaged in nonessential production will be obliged to go without them.

As in the last war, the civil liberties of the American people will be greatly curtailed on M-Day. All movies will be rigidly censored by the Public Relations Administration, as will the radio programs. The newspapers will be supervised and defeatist and subversive comment will not be tolerated. Foreign-language newspapers will be carefully scrutinized in order to prevent undermining the public morale. A concentrated drive will be made to discover fifth columnists and spies, both among Americans and aliens. Draft-dodgers will be sought out, tried, and if convicted sent to prison. Those who seek exemption on religious grounds or as a matter of principle will be given jobs behind the lines. If they refuse to cooperate,

they will be placed in concentration camps.

Under the mobilization plans, women will play a vital role. Millions of them will take over jobs formerly performed by men. Many of them will engage directly in war work, serving as nurses, ambulance drivers, and canteen workers. Women will be asked to transfer from nonessential occupations to war industries.

One of the greatest tasks confronting the nation will be that of financing the war. A host of new taxes will undoubtedly appear—taxes on checks and legal documents, and increased rates on theater tickets, gasoline, liquor, and all luxuries. In fact, citizens will be urged to curtail their purchases of luxuries. Income tax rates will be boosted all along the line. Taxes will be levied to prevent industrialists from making war profits. In order to insure essential industries with adequate funds to continue their operations, the government will institute rigid control over the flow of capital. The War Finance Control Commission will have supervision of capital, so that funds will go to vital industries and not to those which are nonessential.

These are the main outlines of the general mobilization plans which will go into effect if the United States goes to war. Many of the plans are modeled along the lines of our World War experience. A good many of the controls which are contemplated were put into effect by this country before the armistice was signed in 1918. Some of the World War plans have been altered or perfected, others abandoned completely. In the World War, however, it was months before the program of complete economic mobilization started running smoothly, and then only at a terrific cost in waste and inefficiency. The plans for M-Day are designed to eliminate the waste and the loss of time of the earlier war experience.

## ♦ SMILES ♦

"You ask high wages for a young man without experience."

"Yes, sir, but it's much harder work when you don't know anything about it."

—KITTY KAT

"I bought a new thesaurus this morning." "What are you trying to do, kid me? Those animals have been extinct for a million years."

—CHAPARRAL

Thirty is a nice age for a woman—especially if she's 40.

—THE FAMILY CIRCLE

Season's most cautious weather report: "Increasing cloudiness Saturday, followed by rain and probably Sunday."

—LOG

"Are you hunting in your bare feet?"

"No—my stalking feet."

—SELECTED

"I daren't tell my wife lies. She's a medium, you know."

"Neither dare I. Mine's a heavyweight."

—WALL STREET JOURNAL

The aggressive wife of a meek little man was hauling her husband over the coals for having made a fool of himself at a party. He sat in dejected silence.

"And don't be sitting there," she shouted, "making fists at me in your pockets either!"

—BREEZE

"The price tag on the gift from Mary is very plain—\$22.50."

"I wonder what it really cost?"

—CHAPARRAL

"Can you pronounce 'avoid'?"

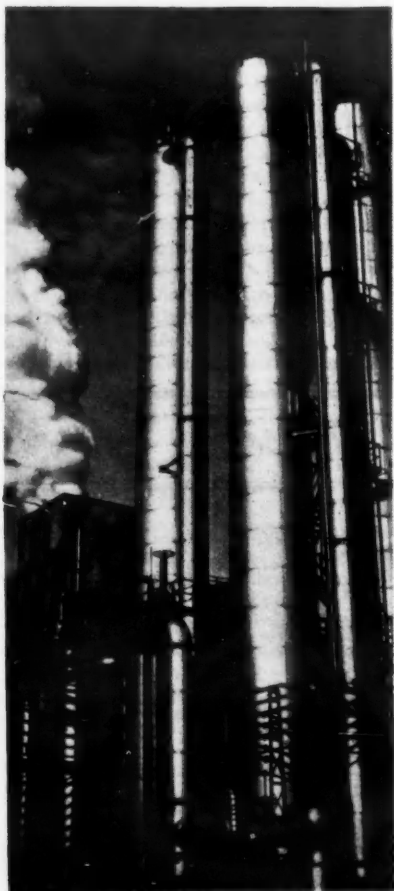
"Sure. Vot is de void?"

—JESTER



"WHICH ONE'S THE CLUTCH?"

BREGER IN AMERICAN MAGAZINE



OIL—A VITAL INDUSTRY